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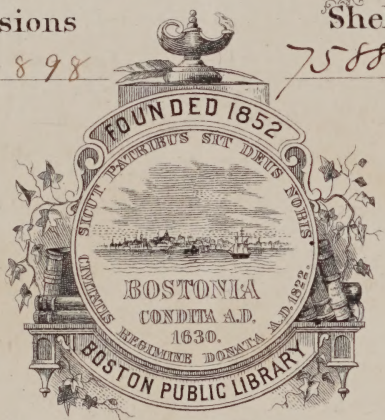

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ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN RELATION TO THE

TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.

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ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS,

ON THE

PRESENT CONDITION AND CLAIMS

OF THE

TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.

BY

MARK HOPKINS, D. D.,
SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, M. D.,
HON. SAMUEL HOAR.

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sustained by the very accurate and laborious researches of Mr. Chipman throughout the whole State of New York, and by the united testimony of the justices and judges of our Courts, of the Wardens and Chaplains of our Prisons, and by all who have the best means of knowledge. It is below the truth to say, that three fourths of the crimes which come within the cognizance of public justice, are caused by the use of alcohol.

3d. Alcohol stands highest on the list of those causes by which reason is dethroned, and the various forms of insanity are produced. Quite recently there has been some diminution, but so late as 1841 we find it stated in the Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Asylum at Worcester, by Dr. Woodward, that "Intemperance still takes the first rank among the causes of insanity, and has added nineteen to our list during the last year." "Intemperance," he continues, "is not only the cause of insanity, but is too frequently the source of other evils which are prolific causes of the disease. If we could ascertain how many of the cases of ill health, of domestic affliction, of fear of poverty, loss of property, and even religious depression and melancholy, arise from it, the list would be appalling, and would be nearly or quite double what it now is."

4th. Aside from the enormous price directly paid for intoxicating drinks, and which may justly be regarded as a total loss, they produce the larger proportion of the pauperism with which the country is burdened. If we add to these the loss of time which they occasion, and of an immense amount of property by what are termed accidents, but which really spring from the carelessness and bad management connected with the use of these drinks, we shall see that the bearings of this cause upon the property of the country are more disastrous than those of any other.

5th. The temptations connected with these drinks form a chief ground of the anxiety of parents respecting their children; and instructors, and those who have the management of youth, find in their use one of the chief obstacles to the accomplishment of those results which are proposed in every

wise course of training and system of education. In the Institution with which one of the Committee is connected, there has been no considerable disturbance for many years, the origin, or chief evils of which, might not be traced to this source.

6th. The use of these drinks is the cause of most of the corruption in voting, and of the disorder and violence at the polls, and of mob violence generally; and is so far a chief cause of danger to our liberties, that, if this were removed, those liberties would be secure. A thoroughly temperate people can never be enslaved.

7th. It is also a prominent obstacle in the way of the progress of the religion of Christ among men. That religion can never assume its rightful sway, and produce all its legitimate fruits, in a community where alcohol, in any form, is commonly used as a beverage. Its habitual use is incompatible with high spirituality; it increases the power of temptation, hardens the heart, and prevents, to an extent which it is difficult to estimate, the salutary effect of Christian truth.

Such are some of the more obvious and palpable evils connected with the use of intoxicating drinks. But there is another class which can be included in no statistics, and which no figures can estimate. Who knew, till the Washingtonians revealed them, the sufferings of the drunkard himself—the agonies of that struggle in which character and conscience and affection grapple with an unnatural and deceitful appetite, whose chief promise of enjoyment is relief from present suffering, purchased only by an aggravation of its cause? Who knew the depths of that slavery which can cause a man to submit to the degrading shifts, and deceptions, and paltry expedients, to which almost every drunkard does resort in his downward progress, in order to preserve appearances while he gratifies his appetite? Who can estimate the sufferings of a wife and children in their descent from affluence to poverty, not by the visitation of Providence, but by the disgrace and ruin of one in whom they have so often been compelled to find, under the sacred

names of husband and father, the besotted drunkard, or the raving fiend? Here is a book whose leaves are written within and without with "mourning and lamentation and woe," but which will never be fully read till the final day.

And as these evils cannot be estimated, and are little known, so those of the other class occur in such a manner as to strike attention and create alarm as little as possible. They come very gradually in connection with present enjoyment and an apparent increase of strength; and self-respect, and pride, and a regard to the community in which men live, lead to their concealment, so that, even till this day, the honest truth cannot be told in many places, without exciting mobs, and endangering life. Now, when men die, the real doings of alcohol are often attributed to other causes. However respectable and valued its victims may once have been, they are now a burden to themselves and to others, and their death is felt rather as a relief than as an evil. The poor have passed silently from observation into their hovels, and into the poor-houses, and the insane have been gathered into their asylums, and at no point has the transition been such as to startle any one, and the world gladly suffers them to pass from its notice. But if, from some eminence, we could see at once the million graves tenanted by drunkards which have been dug in this fair land in one generation; if we could see in long perspective the cells of the criminals and maniacs it has made; if we could gather at once its victims who have tenanted the poor-house; and then range round all these those friends, for they all once had friends, whose hopes have been blasted; if we could see the area of graves extending by the addition of thirty thousand a year, and the wretched throng before us keeping constantly full, then should we be ready to accord to this evil its dreadful pre-eminence among the causes of human suffering. Should such evils be inflicted by a foreign foe, the nation would rise as one man; should they come by pestilence or famine, the whole land would be in consternation and mourning.

Could all this be seen by one whose moral sense had not been blunted by familiarity, and whose associations had not

been perverted by fashion, would he look upon it, existing though it does in a Christian land, with less wonder than upon that worship of idols where human victims are offered; or upon the places, and customs, and rites, and ceremonies, that draw men into these prison houses, and into this Golgotha, with less horror than upon the temples, and rites, and orgies of heathenism, in connection with which parents offer their children in the fire? Would he not say that the whole system was one of horror and of blood, and wonder that any human being could do any thing to give it countenance?

For these dreadful evils God is not responsible. He has placed no appetite in man by which they are induced. Nor has he been so sparing of the means of enjoyment as to drive men to the use of unnatural stimulants. No: he has provided in abundance the means of enjoyment, and with the proper use of these has connected only good. These evils all come from the use of alcoholic drinks; and it is now known that they have their source in what has been called tempeate drinking. Who caused the evils spoken of above? The temperate drinkers of former times. Those of the present time will cause similar evils. Whether intended or not, such results are morally certain, they may be seen to be so, and all who encourage the use of such drinks are responsible for them. The river will flow while it is fed from its springs; dry up those springs, and its waters will cease.

But in the progress of this cause it has been shown, not only that such evils come from alcoholic drinks, and have their source in what is called temperate drinking, but also that such drinking does no good. We would restrict no man from any legitimate enjoyment — from any thing good on the whole. Perhaps we might even hope that some would deny themselves what was really for their own good, if by so doing they could stay the progress of this curse. It would be in the spirit of our Savior to do so. But we need not ask this. No man is healthier, or wiser, or better, or happier, for the use, as a beverage, of intoxicating drinks in any form. No man can habitually accomplish as much under their stimulus, either bodily or mentally, as without it. Nay,

we go farther, and say that the amount of sensitive enjoyment even, would be greater without them. We ask attention to this, and we say deliberately, that a human being entering upon life in a healthy state, would reach greater perfection as a physical being, and have, on the whole, more sensitive enjoyment, without, than with, the use of alcoholic drinks as a beverage.

If we suppose the system to be in its natural state, then there is no craving whatever for this stimulus, and its want is not felt. The senses and natural appetites, as they were created by God, are all open to their appropriate enjoyments. There might be less specific sensation, but there would be a fuller consciousness of well-being. The susceptibility to external influences, the openness to the impressions which the universe without is adapted to make through the senses, the freedom from pain, the whole enjoyment resulting from the bodily organization, would be greater. The body would be fit for labor, or for the service of the mind; and it was for these that God made it, and not to be the seat of an unnatural, and suicidal, and purely selfish pleasure, excited by artificial means. But if, on the other hand, we suppose that uneasiness and craving to exist, which is invariably connected with the habitual use of this stimulus, then is there already derangement of the system, then has that process commenced in the delicate coats of the stomach which will change it into that of the drunkard, and whatever sensation is created during this process, is rather a relief from uneasiness, than any real and satisfactory enjoyment.

Again, if any considerable enjoyment is to come from these drinks, it must be from such a use of them as must form an artificial appetite. But it would be an impeachment of the wisdom of God, especially when we look at the characteristics of these appetites, to suppose that the highest good of man, in any respect, should require them. The characteristics of such appetites are chiefly three: 1. The objects of them are all violent poisons. They are incapable of assimilation by the system, they contain not one particle of nutriment, and taken in any considerable quantity, they destroy

life. 2. The pleasure resulting from these appetites terminates within itself, and has no relation to any ulterior good; whereas that connected with the natural appetites has relation to the vigor which wields the axe and guides the plough, and even to the highest intellectual exertion. 3. The artificial appetites have a tendency to increase; — that is, as the stimulus is continued, the quantity necessary to produce the desired effect becomes greater, and thus men are led into bondage and excess before they are aware. The natural appetites have no such tendency.

Now, who can believe that the enjoyment of man on the whole, even as a sensitive being, would be increased by the creation of such an appetite? When, on the other hand, has man attempted to improve upon the plans of God, and escaped the rebuke due to presumption and folly?

If then, as we truly believe, those who should deny themselves the use of this stimulus would enjoy as much, and more, even from their sensitive nature, surely we may plead with them, in the name of humanity, to give it up.

Such being the relation of alcohol to the human system, and to the well-being of society, it is clear that its proper place is the druggist's shop, to be sold as a medicine, and to be used in the arts. That this is so with opium, *we* can readily see; but there is not a single argument which can be used for the licensed sale, and the use as a beverage of alcohol, which may not be used in China for the general sale and use of opium in that country. Temperance in the use of opium, is abstinence from it for the purposes of smoking and chewing; and temperance in the use of alcohol, is abstinence from it, in its various forms, as a beverage.

We are now prepared to look at *the character of the traffic*, and of all use of property by which it is promoted. This has indeed, for a considerable time, been settled. The moral character of any business must be determined by the consequences of that business, and by the motives of those who are engaged in it. Thus tested, it is easily shown that there is not a business on earth, not even the slave-trade, that is more wicked and detestable. It cannot be pretended that the

consequences of the slave-trade are worse than those of the traffic in intoxicating drinks, and the motive is precisely the same. In neither case is it a direct desire to produce the miseries that follow, but it is a selfish and reckless determination, like that of the thief or the highway robber, to get money without regard to the consequences to others. Without reference to the vile compounds, and infamous frauds of the traffic, a place where liquor is sold as a beverage, is a curse, and only a curse, in any community. It it is the very business of him who keeps it, to tempt men. He is the pander to a vicious appetite. He thrives only as the community is cursed. He puts a stumbling-block in his neighbor's way; he gives his neighbor drink; he puts his bottle to him, and makes him drunken also; and the woe denounced by God upon those who do this must come upon him.

And if such be the character of the traffic, who can doubt the right, or the duty, of the community to prohibit it by law? Has the law sanctioned this traffic? It was from the mistaken apprehension that it was for the public good. But what the law has a right to authorise and to regulate as for the public good, it must have the right to restrain and prohibit for the same reason. Nor would this interfere with the rights or the liberties of any, since "*no man has a right to use his own to the injury of others.*"

We do not hold that it is the province of the civil law to prohibit every thing that is morally wrong, or any thing simply because it is so. Its business is, sanctioning nothing that is morally wrong, to protect the rights of all. We ask for no moral legislation; but we do ask to be protected in our rights of property, and that our industry may not be taxed, directly or indirectly, to provide for the natural and inevitable consequences of the business of a set of men who are a burden to the community. Let these men pay the expenses of the pauperism and crime caused by their business, and we shall have no occasion to ask for further legislation against it.

Neither do we ask for any laws which shall prescribe what a man may eat or drink. But we do ask that all sanction of law may be withdrawn from a business which panders

publicly to an artificial and vicious appetite, the gratification of which endangers the lives, and taxes the property, and corrupts the morals of the community. We ask that such a business may be prohibited, whether in cities or villages, whether in hotels or cellars, as a public nuisance. We think that it is both right and expedient to pass laws against such a business, and to enforce those laws, and we believe that every community that has a just sense of its rights and its duties as freemen, and as patriots, will do so.

But it is said by the vender, that the fact that the buyer voluntarily parts with his money, for what he deems an equivalent, makes an entire difference between what is done by him and what is done when an injury is inflicted without the knowledge or against the consent of another, and that it is unjust, and tyrannical, and goes on the principle that people cannot govern themselves, to pass any law to prohibit them from making any bargain they may choose, or from doing what they will with their own. By this the vender does not mean to say that his business is morally good, but only that in such cases the law has no right to interfere.

We admit that there are two classes of injuries. There are those which are inflicted by fraud or violence, against the will of the person injured; and those in which the weaknesses, or appetites, or passions, or vices of men are taken advantage of, and which are done with their consent. Respecting the first class, the right of society to legislate has never been questioned; and respecting the second, that right has never been supposed to turn on the question of the consent of the parties, but on the further question, whether the injury so inflicted would be likely to extend beyond the person whose consent was given. If we could suppose the effects of such a transaction to be confined to the persons whose consent is given, probably no legislation would be required. But this is not so, and all the principles on which a large part of our legislation has been hitherto based must be given up, if the right to legislate in such cases is to be abandoned. It is only on this principle that laws can be passed against the sale of arsenic for the purpose of poison-

ing, or of suicide, or against duelling, or the sale of lottery tickets, or horse racing, or gambling in any form, or against adultery, or seduction, or houses of ill fame. In such cases it is not alone the rights and the interests of those who give their consent that are involved; it is the rights and the interests of husbands and wives, of parents and children, sometimes, as in this case, of the whole community; and these rights and interests are among the most precious that belong to humanity.

It is not enough, when the stage is a wreck, and limbs are broken, that the consent of the driver was obtained to a bargain which caused the calamity. It is not enough, that the consent of the husband and father are obtained when he parts with his last cent for rum, while his wife and children are starving and in rags. He is lured on to do it for his money, on the same principle and by the same means as an animal is entrapped for his skin; and that is vicious legislation which allows man-traps to be set in the community. It is not enough that the consent of a youth of sixteen is obtained to a bargain, in consequence of which he is carried home drunk. What parent, if he were called to decide whether his son should be smitten down by the hand of an assassin while his eye was bright, and his cheek fresh, and his character fair, or whether he should be lured on to become a drunkard, and to live and die so, would hesitate a moment? Has then such a parent no rights? Can he have no protection against that which is worse than the assassination of his son? That community ought never to exist, which cannot hold up the protecting shield of law when such rights are attempted to be stabbed by the hand of a crafty selfishness.

We would treat no man harshly, or unkindly; we would try the full power of moral suasion, but we would have this business ranked where it belongs; we would have laws to apply to this as to any other violation of right, and in the last resort we would have them firmly and perseveringly enforced.

With these views of the evils connected with the use of

alcoholic drinks; of the nature of the traffic; and of the rights of the community; we turn to the obstacles in the way of the full triumph of the Temperance cause.

The first obstacle arises from the difficulty of getting this subject before the community in its true light, and holding it there.

A second obstacle is to be found in the strength of the appetite already existing, and in that love of nervous excitement, or whatever that may be in man, which makes him so facile to temptation from this stimulus, and which creates such an insane eagerness for the pleasure caused by this and other narcotic substances.

A third obstacle is created by the mistaken views of interest on the part of some who are engaged in the traffic, and by the money which they spend, and the efforts and combinations in which they engage, to evade and to defy the laws.

A fourth obstacle is to be found in prescription — in the drinking customs which have come down from former times, and in the associations which are, in many minds, still connected with those customs.

The fifth and last obstacle which we shall notice, arises from the difficulty of harmonious, concentrated, and persevering action on this subject.

In these obstacles, and in the facts and principles already stated, we find the strongest "reasons why the whole Commonwealth should forthwith be embodied for the active, persevering promotion of the Temperance cause." It only remains, and our limits scarcely admit of that, to look at some of the special duties devolving upon particular classes of the community in view of these different obstacles.

And in view of the first we would say, that it is the duty of men of wealth, and of the community generally, whose taxes have been diminished, whose property has been increased, and whose general condition has been improved by the Temperance movement, to furnish the means by which this subject may be kept fully and steadily before the community. It is not enough that it should be presented once. A cask that has been saturated with alcohol, should be

soaked in cold water. Discrimination is needed, but there are those engaged in this cause who have fought a hard battle, who deserve well of the State and of humanity, and for their own sake, and for that of the cause, they ought to be sustained. Let no man regard it as a hardship to pay something annually for the support of this cause.

In reference to the second obstacle, we would address all who have not taken the pledge, and especially the young. To pledge ourselves to a given course of conduct in view of such evils and dangers, is in no way more objectionable than it was in the signers of the declaration of independence to pledge themselves to a certain course of conduct in view of the oppression of this country, and for its good. Probably they would all have acted as patriots if they had not signed such a pledge, but their signing it had a moral effect that could have been reached in no other way. We are not called upon to sign such a declaration, nor do we suppose it will be the duty of every generation of men to sign a temperance pledge, but when we look at the amount of appetite existing, at the constitutional tendencies of many, at the hold which drinking customs still have, and the facility with which the young, and especially the gifted, are deceived and ruined, we feel that we need, not merely individual principle, but united action and mutual support, and all the safety and moral effect which the pledge, and that only, can secure. Let then the community generally enrol themselves under this banner. Especially let the young do this. In them is our hope, and we ask them to look at these drinks in the light of the past — to see them standing in the midst of the community as the fruit of the forbidden tree in the garden of Eden, promising to make men as gods, but leaving them naked, ashamed, and ruined, while no talent, and no station, has been proof against their seductions. We ask them to study carefully the organic laws of their constitution, and to be satisfied with such enjoyment as God is willing they should have. Thus, and thus only, will they attain all the good which can be reached in the present state; thus may they stay the steps of a feeble brother, and put the anxieties of parents and friends at rest.

In view of the third obstacle, we say a word to those engaged in the traffic. We have said that they act from mistaken views of interest, because, though individual men may have become rich by it, as some have by gambling, yet the statistics of the business show that the men and their families who have been engaged in it are not those who have been permanently prosperous, and that the proportion of them who have died drunkards has been fearfully great. To all those engaged in this traffic, or who receive rent or profit from it in any way, we would say that their business is an immorality, that it is a burden and a curse to the community, and that the frown of God is upon it; and we would beseech them at once to abandon a business on which no man can ask God's blessing.

The fourth obstacle requires especial attention at the present time. We know, and would make allowance for the effect of usage and time honored customs. It is but slowly that hoary errors, and sanctified abuses, and those things which are highly esteemed among men while they are abomination in the sight of God, come to be viewed in their true light. From the very constitution of man, it was to be expected that the associations connected with drinking customs should linger in society and produce their effect after the judgment should be convinced. The associations connected with royalty, or slavery, or any ancient abuse, are slow in dying out, even though the reason and moral sense of every man may be against them; and the triumph of this cause will not be complete, till the associations of men come up and stand behind, in close array, to fortify their opinions. This point gained, and temperance papers, and temperance lecturers, will be no longer needed.

In view of this obstacle, we would therefore especially address the wealthy, the educated, and more influential classes of the community, in whose power alone it is to direct fashion, and most effectually to modify the associations of society. It is not, as was just intimated, by reason and judgment alone that men are governed, but by imitation, and sympathy, and fashion, and association; and those who have the control of these, have, if possible, more power for

good or for evil than those who control their opinions. It is in this point of view that you, respected and honored fellow-citizens, have a fearful responsibility, and one which we fear you have not sufficiently considered; for we do feel that the position which many of you occupy is now the greatest obstacle to the progress of this cause. We know you can say that you mean no harm, while you keep yourself aloof from this cause, and drink expensive and luxurious wines. But this, in a community constituted like ours, you cannot do without harm. So doing you cause wine drinking to be looked forward to by the young as one of the results of successful enterprize, you keep up its association with gentility and fashion, and you give the whole force of your example and moral influence in favor of the use of intoxicating drinks in every form. Self-indulgent as men generally are, we know that your temptation is strong, but is not every principle of humanity, every prompting of your better nature against it? God has given you every blessing of his Providence, and can you not be happy except in a way that will certainly lead your fellow-creatures dreadfully astray? Are you strongly attached to this luxury? Would it cost you a hard struggle to give it up? Then we tremble for your own safety, and ask you to remember that "wine is a mocker," and see to it that you are not "deceived thereby." Are you but slightly attached to it? Would it cost you but little to give it up? Then in the name of bleeding humanity, we entreat you not to let a gratification so trifling to you, stand in the way of the great good which your example and influence would do.

Of the last obstacle we may say, that the difficulty of harmonious, concentrated, and persevering action in this cause, is as little as in any other which must be carried on by voluntary, associated, benevolent effort. Indeed, it is less than in most others, since from the simplicity of their cause, and the numerous and diverse bearings of the evils produced, men differing very widely in other respects can unite here. Still, in all such cases much thankless and self-denying labor must be performed, and men are prone to devolve upon

others what will never be done unless they do it themselves, and to become weary in well doing. Self interest is always more direct and persevering in its measures than principle and benevolence.

What then remains, but that all the friends of this cause, all the friends of humanity and religion, should come up with new zeal to this work? Much has already been done, and surely no one who looks at the results thus far, can ever regret any effort or sacrifice that he has made. Much has been done, and the signs of the times are full of promise, but there yet remains a great work to be done, and time, and labor, and money must be given to it.

In this work Massachusetts has hitherto been foremost, both in her efforts, and in her legislation. The spirit that has moved her, has been the spirit of '76. True, she would gladly arrest the moral evils connected with the sale of intoxicating drinks, but she regards a rum-tax, for the benefit of those who lie as an incubus upon the community, with as little favor as she did a tea-tax, in favor of Britain. The great mass of the people have felt, not only that their moral sense was outraged, but that their rights were invaded, and they have moved, and will move for the vindication of those rights. The eyes of other States are upon us, and by us, and by the State of New York, in whose approaching struggle we feel the deepest interest, it is to be tested whether large, prosperous, and free communities can practically free themselves from this curse; and whether communities are to be protected in those rights which are violated by the traffic.

Let, then, the whole community, male and female, do what they can. Of the sympathies and efforts of woman in this cause the importance cannot be overestimated, and we rejoice to know that they are so generally with us. In the language of the Convention, "We hail it as a glorious fact, and to her honor be it spoken, that while woman, in her endearing and delightful relations of daughter, and sister, and wife, and mother, has often, and in thousands of cases, requested, and petitioned, and not unfrequently, *entreated*

(Dec., 1888, 20,000)

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